class of importance nor an organized urban proletariat (although there are the beginnings of a trade-union movement). There does, it is true, exist a large commercial middle class in the towns, but it is not an autonomous class capable of challenging the social power of the landowners. For this there are a number of reasons: many of the merchants are Christians or Jews, and therefore frightened of coming into conflict with important vested interests; many are bound by family ties to the landowners, and not conscious of a difference of interest from them.

Although the power of the landowners has not yet been challenged, almost certainly the coming generation will see its decline. The conditions which made it possible are ceasing to exist. Land is no longer the only source of wealth, nor is subsistence-agriculture by ignorant peasants the only practicable means of using it. The landlords have lost not only their economic but also their political function: their services as leaders of a feudal army and as tax-collectors have long since been dispensed with. It is not yet clear, however, which class will take their place. The processes which have taken place in parts of Europe—the transfer of power from landowners to capitalists, and the division of large estates into small freeholdings—may occur, but it is not necessary and perhaps not altogether desirable that they should. It is at least arguable for example that it would be better, economically and socially, to revive and develop the village community than to try to create a class of small farmers. Whether this be so or not, it is certain that great changes in the structure of classes are to be expected.

7

Again, the patriarchal family system remains in existence, but its days are probably numbered. The claims of the family are still prior to those of the individual member of it; but its solidarity is gradually being undermined by the ways of modern urban life and by the emergence for large sections of the population of alternatives to the cultivation of inherited land in the ancestral village.

The structure of the family is being radically transformed by the change in the status of women. The change is particularly great among the urban middle class. Girls' schools have been opened, and it is possible for women to

11: Hourani S-4 (no date) 1946 MD1 Syria 901

enter an ever-increasing number of occupations, including the liberal professions. But so far only the edge has been touched of the great problem, which like all great problems in this country is closely bound up with religion: how far is it possible in a modern society to retain the traditional Islamic view of women's status—seclusion and the veil, the theory and in a minority of cases the practice of polygamy, the divorce laws and so on? Of all the difficult questions which the process of Westernization raises, this is perhaps the most difficult; and its difficulty and urgency are likely to increase. The process of change is being speeded by one manifestation of Western civilization above all: the film which expresses a way of feminine life, and a conception of the relations between men and women, which are far from those prevalent in the Islamic world.

The local and sectarian loyalties of the past also preserve something of their strength, but on the whole they are declining in force and are likely to continue to do so, with the spread of Western ideas, the introduction of new means of communication and above all the development of schools, in which the adherents of different religions grow up side by side.

8

The growth of education is indeed one of the most important, as it is one of the most obvious, changes of the last few generations. Landowner, merchant and peasant alike are eager to send their sons and daughters to school, as the first and essential step towards entering the free professions or Government service. Syria and Lebanon now possess the framework of a complete educational system, from elementary schools up to technical institutes and three universities: the American University of Beirut, the Jesuit Université de S. Joseph, also in Beirut, and the State University, in Damascus.

The table on page 94 shows the number of schools of different types, and of scholars in them, in 1938.

From these figures it will be clear that education is further advanced in Lebanon than in Syria. It is also further advanced in the mainly Christian districts of Lebanon than in the others; among the Christians of Syria than among the Moslems; and in Syria as a whole than in Jebel Druze and Latakia. The percentage of literacy is probably rather

15: Khadduri S-4 (no date) 1951 MD1 Syria MD1

regime. Both Iraq and Jordan, arguing that a union with Syria would strengthen their position against Israel, opened negotiations with Za'im. Pressed by an immediate need to strengthen his position in the forthcoming armistice negotiations with Israel, Za'im offered to conclude an immediate military alliance with a pledge to consider the larger scheme of future cooperation with the Hashimi Kingdoms later on. He refused, however, to commit himself on whether he favored a republican or monarchical regime.[21]

Za'im's move toward negotiation with the Hashimi Kingdoms aroused the fear of the Saudi-Egyptian bloc that a rapprochement would lead to an extension of Hashimi rule to Syria. Egypt and Saudi Arabia therefore countered with promises of recognition and assurances of military and financial aid. This Saudi-Egyptian intervention was so successful that it not only doomed a Syro-Iraqi dual monarchy (with possible extension to Jordan) but inspired Za'im to reach for the highest position of his country — an ambition which sowed the seeds of disagreement between him and his supporters, both civil and military, who now argued that Za'im had betrayed the cause for which they had instigated the coup, namely to rid the country of the Quwwatli regime.

In April 1949 Za'im dismissed Parliament and ordered new elections on the basis of universal suffrage, including women — the first to be thus held in an Arab country. After Za'im's election to the Presidency, preparations were made to promulgate a new Constitution into which liberal principles were to be introduced, especially relating to land reform. This Constitution, though completed, was never promulgated; but a new civil code, bearing the stamp of the Egyptian jurist Sanhuri Pasha (who had already started research along this line at the initiation of the Iraqi Government), was issued. Although based on both European models and the principles of Islamic law, this code materially restricted the authority of the latter. It is regarded as one of the permanent contributions of Za'im's short-lived regime.

[21] The relations of the Syrian coups d'état to the schemes of unity with Iraq and Jordan are discussed in detail in a paper by the present writer entitled "The Scheme of Fertile Crescent Unity" contributed to a volume to be published shortly by the Harvard University Press.

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TABLE 60

SYRIAN SCHOOLS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO TYPE OF SCHOOL AND TYPE OF CONTROL, 1944-45*

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TYPE OF SCHOOL	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS				ENROLLMENT			
	Boys	Girls	Coeducational	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Percent
Primary and intermediate:								
Public	542	116	...	658	63,755	21,785	85,540	57.6
Private	158	40	89	287	28,800	14,210	43,010	29.0
Foreign	50	38	39	127	9,942	9,936	19,878	13.4
Total	750	194	128	1,072	102,497	45,931	148,428	91.1
Secondary:								
Public	14	8	...	22	4,557	1,490	6,047	52.2
Private	8	7	2	17	1,283	460	1,743	15.0
Foreign	9	14	7	30	2,639	1,163	3,802	32.8
Total	31	29	9	69	8,479	3,113	11,592	7.2
Vocational								
Public	4	1	...	5	812	199	1,011	60.2
Private	6	1	...	7	444	17	461	27.4
Foreign	2	1	...	3	101	106	207	12.3
Total	12	3	...	15	1,357	322	1,679	1.0
Teachers College (public)	2	2	...	4	153	131	284	0.2
Syrian University (public)	4	1	...	5	766	69	835	0.5
GRAND TOTAL	799	229	137	1,165	113,252	49,566	162,818	100.0
Summary:								
All public schools	566	128	...	694	70,043	23,674	93,717	57.5
All private schools	172	48	91	311	30,527	14,687	45,214	27.8
All foreign schools	61	53	46	160	12,682	11,205	23,887	14.7

* Figures supplied by Ministry of Education.

dents (15 percent), and foreign schools, 3,802 (32.8 percent). Public schools were either for boys or for girls, but a few private and foreign schools were coeducational. Government schools, with an average enrollment of 275, were larger on the whole than either private schools (with an enrollment per school of 102 students), or foreign schools (with an enrollment of 127 per school). One of the reasons for that situation is probably that the public schools charge much lower fees and have a substantial percentage of exempted students.

A further scrutiny of Table 60 shows an interesting fact about the relative number of boys and girls in public, private, and foreign schools. In the public schools the ratio of girls to boys is roughly 1 to 3, while in the private schools it is approximately 1 to 2, and in foreign schools the two sexes are almost equally represented. It is interesting to speculate

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upon the reason for this phenomenon. One reason is the fact that there are a number of French Catholic orders of nuns which maintain schools patronized by Christians and non-Christians owing to the strict education and discipline exercised over the girls. Another reason lies in the fact that most of the pupils of foreign schools (77 percent) in 1942–43 were Christians and Jews, and it is a well-known fact that the education of girls is the more popular among these two groups—primary education among them is, in fact, almost universal, particularly in the cities where most of the foreign schools are located. This fact is further supported by the figures for foreign primary schools, which show that 19,878 pupils are almost equally divided between the two sexes—the difference is only six pupils—a phenomenon familiar where universal education prevails. Secondary education for girls, however, is much less popular, the girls forming only 30 percent of the total number of students in foreign secondary schools.

In addition to the regular graded schools, there were in Syria, according to Ministry of Education statistics, 1,229 ungraded schools, or *kuttabs*, enrolling 34,440 children. Of these 292 were for girls, enrolling 6,190 pupils. Presumably these figures are for the year 1943–44.[13]

In the vocational-education field the public schools lead with 1,011 students, or 60.2 percent, in 5 schools. Of the 7 private schools with a total enrollment of 461, or 27.4 percent, 5 schools are not, strictly speaking, vocational. They are religious and Muhammadan law schools, enrolling 424 students. This leaves 2 vocational schools with a total enrollment of 37 pupils. Three foreign schools give vocational training to 206 pupils, or 12.3 percent of the total.

There were 4 teachers colleges for educating teachers for the primary and elementary schools—2 for men and 2 for women—enrolling 284 students. This is a great advance over the previous year when there were only 78 students.[14]

Finally there is the Syrian University with its Schools of Medicine, Dentistry, Pharmacy, Nursing, and Law, with 834 students, of whom 69 are women in the School of Nursing.

Teachers

As has already been mentioned, statistics for teachers are difficult to secure. Only figures for primary public-school teachers in the year 1944–45 were available to the American Council Commission. These numbered 2,140 and were distributed as follows:

[13] Al-Husri, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 54.